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AUTHOR	LaNoue, George R.; Adler, Norman
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ABSTRACT

This paper, prepared for the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties Conference in 1968, argues that education is the foundation upon which democratic politics stands because of the transmittal by schools of the skills and values necessary for our political system to operate. The objective of the paper is to show the relationship between the political system, the public school, and the political socialization process, and, moreover, to show how they can be studied. Concern is given to the development of political values as they relate to civil liberties. By adapting Easton's model of a system to the educational sub-system for explanation purposes, the authors analyze the way in which the political system influences the political values taught in schools. Schools, the most important institution for the furnishing of political values and knowledge, do not have the same impact on children of different socio-economic classes. Most schools are middle-class institutions governed by middleclass individuals and in the service of a middle-class value system. Lower class pupils, authority oriented, derive a civil education that differs from the process-oriented middleclass child. (Author/SJM)

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POLITICAL SYSTEMS, PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

By Professor George R. La Noue
and
Professor Norman Adler
Teachers College

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The belief that education is the foundation upon which democratic politics stands has long been accepted by Americans. For example, the earliest instance of federal support of education, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, was justified on the grounds that "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."[1]

The logic of this Act proved so persuasive that in the nineteenth century state and local governments took over the major responsibility of supporting and managing educational institutions.[2] Everywhere the principal rationale for the expansion of the public schools was the system's purported benefits for the civic culture. In a speech typifying this movement, Daniel Webster declared

> Education, to accomplish the ends of good government, should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the school house to all the children of the land. Let no man have the excuse of poverty for not educating his children....On the diffusion of education among the people rests the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions.[3]

Quoting this speech, which was delivered in 1827, ought to illustrate the longevity of this ideal, for Webster's last sentence might appear in any contemporary discussion of support for education.

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*The authors are professors of Government and Education in the Department of Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Teachers College, Columbia University.
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Yet if it is true, as is widely believed, that education, particularly public education, makes democratic government possible, then remarkably little is known about how the process works. That the government depends on school-transmitted skills to carry out its many functions is obvious, but that school-transmitted values are necessary for our political system to operate is not so obvious. Even less apparent is how the process of political socialization through formal education takes place and how the public school system affects the content of political values. It is the purpose of this paper to point out some of the linkages between the political system, the public school and the political socialization process and to indicate how these linkages can be studied. We will be especially concerned with the development of political values as they relate to civil liberties.

Given the centrality of this phenomenon in shaping American politics, it may seem surprising that political scientists have so rarely discussed it. There are both objective and subjective reasons for the sparseness of the literature. To properly understand this whole process one would have to be familiar with research in the fields of the politics of education, political socialization, community power structures, public administration, sociology of institutions and the psychology of learning.[4] Even if one were to narrow this formidable list by focusing on the relationship of local governments to local public schools, one would be still confronted with the fact that there are 23,000 different school districts in the United States. In addition to the geographical heterogeneity this total represents, the districts range in size from units as large as the one million student New York City public school system to the more conventional city, county, town-

ship or consolidated school districts. Furthermore, there is little uniformity in the government of school districts, either in the politics of selection of school boards or in their formal and informal powers. Nevertheless, as Thomas H. Eliot pointed out in an influential essay in the American Political Science Review,[5] the failure of political scientists to study the educational policy-making process is not caused solely by the inherent difficulties of the subject. Instead, he notes that political scientists, like most other laymen, have accepted the professional educators' assertion that problems of financing and managing public schools are non-political issues which ought to be exempt from the ordinary political process and analysis. The practical consequences of this bureaucratic myth will be examined later, but its dampening effect on research and dialogue in the politics of education should be recognized.[6]

If political scientists have neglected the educational policy process, the subject has been of considerable concern to the educational reformers and philosophers writing in the last ten years. Doubtless the most influential of these writers has been James Bryant Conant, President Emeritus of Harvard University and the Carnegie Foundation's reigning educational expert. In Shaping Educational Policy, a book which culminated a long series of works on the public schools, Conant discusses the role of the "educational establishment."[7] Although he states that he is not one of the harsh critics of the establishment, he has suggested that the establishment "was not as responsive as it should have been in changing attitudes of the public toward education."[8] The rest of the book is devoted to outlining the establishment's task of reform and to suggesting a compact of the states to implement these proposals. Unfortunately, like C. Wright Mills who in his book The Power

Elite[8] uses a similar concept to describe the federal policy process, Conant provides no comprehensive definition of the membership of the establishment[9] nor any systematic description of the way in which decisions are made.[10] There are, of course, in both school and governmental circles groups of key leaders, but the concept of an educational establishment is too vague to be used as a tool of analysis.[11] Furthermore, even if we could determine with certainty the shape of the establishment, the effort might not be productive because we would be describing a waning influence. Groups like federal bureaucrats, civil rights leaders, militant teachers, parent activists and even students, that have been excluded traditionally from the nebulous establishment now clearly have considerable influence.

How can the way in which the political system influences the political values schools teach be described and analyzed? David Easton in his book, A Systems Analysis of Political Life,[12] offers one approach. Easton has described the political system as a vast and perpetual conversion process whereby the wants of a society are articulated as demands on the system which are dealt with either by a specific response (termed an output) of allocating a desired value, or by some form of rejection. The system maintains itself not only by attempting to satisfy the demands voiced by channeling agents (called gatekeepers), but also by engendering general support for the political community, its rules and myths, and its authorities in the form of patriotism, feelings of communitas, etc. The demands and supports are referred to as system inputs, and the allocations are referred to as outputs. Easton further notes that outputs are fed back to demandem through a feedback loop, thereby engendering new outputs in the form of further demands or new supports which are given in return for outputs.

For our purposes, Easton's model of a system can be adapted to the educational subsystem. While systems and subsystems are not identical in their structure, they are sufficiently similar in their functions to warrant an application of the systems paradigm (see Figure 1 on page 6). The input side of the educational system is composed of both governmental and non-governmental gatekeepers. Each provides supports for the educational subsystem in the form of legislation, funds, political aid, and personnel and technical assistance. Each makes demands on the school for compliance or cooperation with the educational system.

The school is the central institution in the subsystem and it is responsible for the authoritative allocation of values. Obviously, some demands and supports come not from outside the school, but from within it. These "within-puts," as Easton calls them, are in the form of supports and demands from school board members, administrators, teachers and pupils.

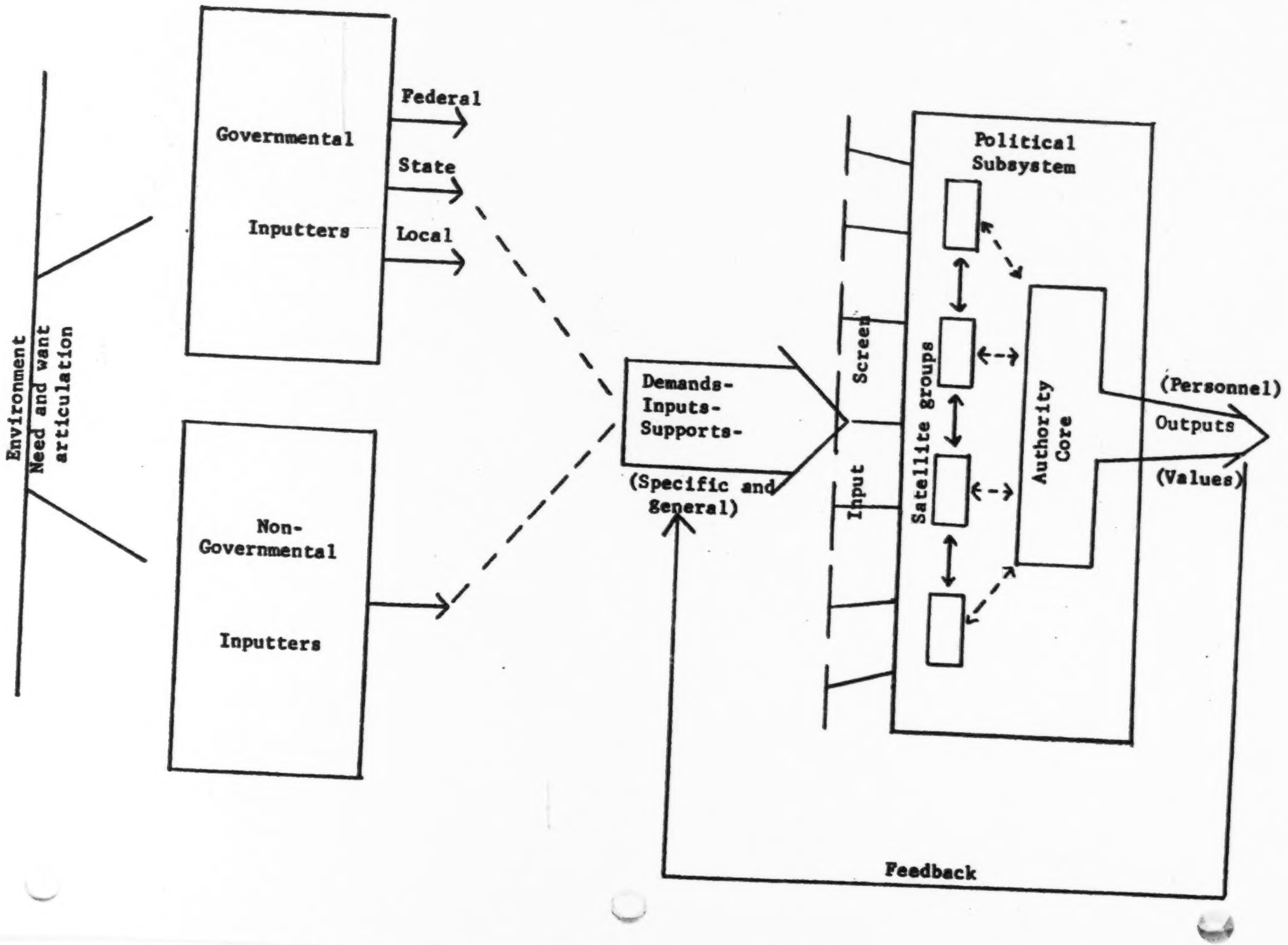
The school allocates outputs of personnel and outputs of values. Both are premiums, since, being in short supply in the society, they are in constant demand and are not dispensed by all institutions or subsystems of that society. Personnel outputs include jobs and status for the personnel employed by or for the school, and personnel provided by the school for the entire system (apprentices and consumers). Outputs of values cover the gamut of beliefs and knowledge that make up the socialization process. The school both competes and cooperates with other agencies in this process. The direction, intensity and frequency of inputs is affected by both the relationship between the input institution and the recipient institution and by the nature of the recipient institution itself. In the next section, some of these relationships will be discussed.

Inputs

In the last decade, a major new input into the educational subsystem has

Figure 1

The Educational Subsystem



been provided by the federal government.[13] What, if any, effect has federal aid legislation had on the political values expressed in the schools? The political climate in Congress is such that any systematic attempt by the federal government to influence the values taught in schools would be staunchly resisted. Instead, a version of the following disclaimer of "federal control of education" is found in major education legislation:

> Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system, or over the selection of library resources, textbooks, or other printed or published instructional materials by any educational institution or school system.[14]

Although this kind of political rhetoric is not intended to be taken literally, it does serve as a tangible reminder to federal administrators that Congress supports the traditional system of local control of education. Nevertheless, recent legislation has added greatly to federal government influence in shaping policy for public schools.

Ten years ago, most federal educational funds were administered by the Department of Defense (primarily defense-related research and veterans' benefits). With the passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA), administrative responsibility shifted to the Office of Education, but the defense-related rationale for federal aid continued. NDEA's rationale may have had an effect on school values in two ways. The most overt effect was contained in Title X, Section (f) which stipulated:

> No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this Act shall be used to make payments or loans to any individual unless such individual...has executed and filed with the

> Commissioner an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.... [15]

More subtly, NDEA's selective support of areas within the curriculum (originally science, mathematics and modern foreign languages) certainly altered the natural balance of the curriculum by expanding the facilities and enhancing the status of the defense-related disciplines.[16] Since NDEA was the major form of federal aid to both universities and public schools until 1963 and since it involved most educational institutions in the country, one might suggest that the Act had the effect of reinforcing the instrumental and nationalistic view of education.

The impact of the second major federal program, the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965, has been quite different. Title I programs for educationally deprived students have caused public schools across the country to redirect their attention toward lower-class children (NDEA, on the contrary, was intended to identify and train scientific and scholarly elites). Most of the Title I programs are probably aimed at communicating middle-class skills and values to lower-class children, but in some cases the new curricula and programs are designed to take advantage of lower-class interests and strengths. The Office of Education exercise of its discretionary power in awarding research grants funded by E.S.E.A. and other legislation can also influence curriculum.

E.S.E.A. and the Anti-Poverty Program have also altered the number and type of institutional inputs in the local educational policy process. For one thing, both Acts require the participation of non-public school students in the local programs. Naturally, this has led to the involvement of private and

particularly parochial school officials in program development and evaluation. Although both programs have rules against using federal funds for overtly sectarian teaching, it seems reasonable to believe that, since some of these programs are carried out in parochial schools under de facto parochial school administration, some difference from the values in the previously all-public programs will accur. Title III of E.S.E.A. and the Anti-Poverty Community Action Programs go even further, for they require the participation in planning and carrying out projects of persons "broadly representative of the cultural and educational resources of the area to be served." The attempt to break the monopoly of public school administrators is quite consistent with the indigenous local demands which will be discussed later.

In recent years a federal input even more important than legislation-administration has been the decisions of the Supreme Court.[17] There are three kinds of Court inputs: (1) proscription of activity judged illegal; (2) legitimization of controversial activity; and (3) advocacy of educational philosophy. Often the proscription or legitimization input and the philosophy input occur in the same opinion in the form of holdings and dicta. Major proscriptive decisions include (1) West Virginia v. Barnette (forbidding compulsory flag salutes),[18] (2) McCollum v. Board of Education (forbidding released time on public school sites),[19] (3) Brown v. Board of Education (forbidding state racial segregation of schools)[20] and (4) Engle v. Vitale and Abington v. Schempp (forbidding public school sanctioned religious exercises but legitimatizing objective study of religion).[21] Major legitimatizing decisions include (1) Pierce v. Society of Sisters (upholding the right of private schools to exist),[22] (2) Cochran v. Board of Education and Everson v.

Board of Education (upholding textbook and transportation aid to parochial school students),[23] (3) Zorach v. Clauson (upholding off-school-premises released time),[24] and (4) Adler v. Board of Education (upholding the right of states to bar "subversives" from the classroom.[25] The most important philosophical statements regarding the nature of education in American society occur in Pierce, Barnette, Brown and Abington. In some areas, particularly the teaching of religion, the Court has been the most significant inputter in the subsystem.

In the American educational subsystem, the states have historically played a critical role in shaping educational policy, although the increasing activity of the federal government and such standardizing influences as College Board Tests and the education industry have reduced their autonomy. Nevertheless, states still are influential in three input areas that affect the values of local schools: (1) creation of school district boundaries; (2) certification of administrative and teaching personnel and (3) determination of required subjects and teaching materials in the curriculum.

In the last decade, the states have carried out a quiet revolution in school districting by eliminating more than 25,000 school districts or about fifty per cent of the 1958 total. In addition, eastern states, particularly New York and Massachusetts, have taken the responsibility to correct racial imbalance. Whether consolidating rural districts or rearranging suburban and urban districts, the effect has been to create a greater mix of students and teachers and a broader population base from which to choose school board members. Presumably, this new mix will alter the school culture.

The state certification rules reflect both the public interest in ensuring minimum standards of competence and the professionals' interest in restricting competition for positions. This occupational license may affect school values because only middle class people can generally afford financially and psychically to take four years of college (or more) and to pass the required professional courses. Consequently, no matter how talented and how effective in communicating his talent a lower class artist, artisan, athlete or community leader might be, without the relevant degrees he could not be employed. This restriction is beginning to break down, however, because both community action programs (E.S.E.A.-Title I and Anti-Poverty) and the education industry are utilizing larger numbers of para-professionals in the schools.

The most overt influence states have on school values is their legal control over the curriculum. This control can be exercised by specifying the number and kind of courses a student must take to receive a degree, by requiring passage of standardized state examinations, or by selecting textbooks. This power has led some states to institute special subjects like courses in anti-Communism (Florida) or the evils of alcohol and tabacco, or to require special versions of regular courses (anti-evolution laws in Arkansas and Tennessee). Generally the literature, such as State Politics and the Public Schools or Schoolmen and Politics[26] leads one to assume that state officials merely ratify the wishes of professional groups in these matters, but we lack detailed comparative studies of the politics of curriculum building (which, of course, affects employment opportunities for various educational specialists) or of the politics of textbook selection, which involves sizable stakes of money and/is the most direct means of transmitting values.[27]

Traditionally, local communities in America have exercised more control over school policy than in any other industrialized nation. The increase in federal and state inputs has diminished the areas of policy discretion under local control, but they are still substantial. Presumably, the kind of inputs the schools receive from the local community will depend in large part on the power structure within the community. Generally, social scientists have discovered two different models of community power structure.

Much of the initial work in the study of local decision-making processes was carried out by sociologists in such books as Middletown,[28] Elmtown's Youth,[29] Small Town in Mass Society,[30] and Community Power Structure.[31] In this latter book, Floyd Hunter's study of Atlanta, the methods and theoretical structure of this sociological approach become fully articulated. According to Nelson Polsby, Hunter and others made five assertions about the stratification of power in American communities: (1) A single "power elite" rules in the community; (2) The upper class rules in local community life; (3) Political and civic leaders are subordinate to the upper class: (4) The upper-class power elite rules in its own interests; and (5) Social conflict takes place between the upper and lower classes.[32] Hunter himself does not apply these conclusions to educational policy except to note in passing that educational issues and leaders rank very low in importance in Atlanta and that where such policies are made they are made by the economic elite.[33]

Other sociological studies have fleshed out this picture. Whether in midwestern Middletown in the twenties[34] or Elmtown in the forties[35] or eastern

Springdale[36] in the fifties or in various southern communities in the sixties,[37] a pattern of manipulation of school board elections by the power elite emerges. In these communities, the propertied classes represented on the board were able to coopt their successors by supressing publicity on vacancies, nomination procedures, and the election itself, thus insuring low-turnout, single-slate elections, and by employing economic sanctions against critics and challengers. Hollingshead summarizes the inputs of this elite as a concern for "operating the schools as economically as possible,and seeing that theachers conform, in the classroom and in their personal lives, to the most conservative economic, political, religious, and moral doctrines prevailing in the local culture."[38] The doctrines prevailing in this kind of local culture, as found in the civics textbooks analyzed by Lynn, are "respect for private property, respect for public property, respect for law, respect for the home, and appreciation for good men and women."[39]

In order to secure conformity to such values, the communities studied sought to hire home-bred teachers, thus limiting the influx of controversial or alien values.[40] School administrators, by necessity, often had to be recruited from distant universities with the consequence that they were regarded as outsiders and social inferiors serving at the pleasure of the power elite. The administrators' desire to placate the power elite is reflected in Vidich and Bensman's description of the willingness to adapt school policy to the businessmen's needs,[41] on one hand, and Hollingshead's case study of the exemption of the children of the elite from ordinary school discipline on the other.[42]

Both the methodology and the findings of the power elitist school, of course, have been heavily criticized,[43] but it does seem probable that in rural and single-industry dominated towns such a pattern is widespread. These are

declining areas, however, and it may be expected that the elitist power structure will become less important.

Most cities are already or will in the future be governed by the kind of pluralistic power structure reported in Who Governs? (New Haven),[44] Political Influence (Chicago),[45] Decisions in Syracuse[46] and Governing New York City.[47] These pluralistic studies have challenged all five assertions of the elitists by arguing that (1) a single class does not rule, (2) upper classes are not influential in many policy areas; (3) political leaders, particularly the Mayor, are able to manipulate the business and social elites; (4) the upper classes are divided in their interests; and (5) other cleavages in the community are as important as class conflict.[48] In the pluralist system there are a variety of agencies channelling inputs into the system, and many agencies mediating inputs and providing outputs. Sayre and Kaufman have described New York City's policy process as being multicentered with each subsystem specializing in a specific issue, for example education, housing, transportation, etc. In other words the community is organized into what Norton Long has termed an "ecology of games."[49] It is not a case of a unitary political system that, among other things, decides educational policy, but rather a specific set of decision elites and contributory elites that exist which have education as their common interest.

The relationship of these elites may be pictured as a number of satellite groups and agencies revolving around a decision core. These satellites, which in the case of education include blue ribbon civic societies, parent groups, teachers' associations, and others, both make demands and support the bureaucratic decision core. The satellites, unlike outside groups (civil rights agencies, for example) are dependent on the bureaucratic core for recognition and the information with which to play the game. In return, they

cooperate with each other and with the core to limit participation and to perpetuate the subsystem.[50] In this situation, the core and satellites come to some agreement on educational boundaries, and then occupy their time with disputes on structural and procedural questions, subsuming the general direction and content of the program. Thus, despite the fact that the overall system is pluralistic in that there are many games and many participants, a particular game may permit only limited access. Consequently, Marilyn Gittell has labelled the educational subsystems in the large cities as "narrow, convergent and dominated by a consensual elite."[51]

Why does the public permit this? The nature, intensity, and volume of demand for outputs on any political system is dependent on how the system is perceived. Edelman, in his book The Symbolic Uses of Politics, has commented that "the public is not in touch with the situation, and it "knows" the situation only through the symbols that engage it."[52] For most people, the educational subsystem has been symbolized as professional, non-political, and child-centered. This symbolic representation has led to demands on the system that have been conservative and system-supporting.

Since education is pictured as being concerned with the transmission of readily-ascertainable empirical and normative truths that transcend the interests of party or faction, it can be safely left to the professionals and the bureaucratic core.

When demands are made on the subsystem, they are most often for the acceleration of the transmission process rather than for alteration or substitution of the truths taught. Where objections are raised, they are raised over the cost and necessity of various learning tools and school "frills." Professionals, of course, are able to dominate discussion of these matters, and so long as these are the major educational questions, individuals will

avoid channelling their political demands into the subsystems even if the demands belong there. Before the advent of the civil rights movement, dissatisfaction with the lack of marketable skills of highschool graduates was invariably directed at other political institutions rather than at the schools. Complaints were voiced about the state of the economy, union discrimination, etc., rather than about the fundamental educational deficiencies that occurred because of anachronistic and unequal schooling.

In most cases, and under most conditions, the number of satellites surrounding the educational decision-core are few in number. There is no necessity for large number of "gatekeepers" since there are not a large number of demands on the system. As Edelman has commented, "the integral connection is apparent between symbolic satisfaction of the disorganized, on the one hand, and the success of the organized, on the other, in using governmental instrumentalities as aids in securing the tangible resources they claim."[53] So long as the decision core and its satellite groups can monopolize the decision-process while projecting an image of neutral-professional competence, they can cope with the small number of demands that occasionally arise. With a free hand, so to speak, they appear to benefit everybody to the optimum of their ability, given the restraints of their position. In reality, they may be optimally benefiting themselves. So long as the occupants can maintain control over the nature and flow of limited demands, they can guarantee virtual control over the major aspects of what is taught and how it is taught.

Since most local educational subsystems are dominated by middle-class values, supportive of the status quo and representative of the dominant ecoomic and political forces of the community, the output in terms of personnel and values will system-supporting and change-opposing. The goals of education will be to provide children with the specific knowledge and skills that

will best serve the interests of the dominant forces in the community.

If, however, people are brought to believe that their needs can be satisfied through bringing pressure on the educational subsystem and that this is proper action, then the educational system will no longer be free to operate as it wishes. It will become the recipient of demands that may potentially redirect the content of its curriculum and, thereby, the nature of the information and attitudes reaching its pupils.

What we have witnessed in the black revolution in the schools is the failure of the educational solar system to continue to convince a portion of the public of rightful monopoly of school policy-making. This has caused a flood of demands to be directed at what was once a sacrosanct system, so far as politics is concerned. When "certain types of political objections (are) not satisfied symbolically (they're) likely to erupt into direct, extragovernmental mass action."[54] The consequence of this action was that the general political system forced a response from the school subsystem. Once this occurred, the general rule that success engenders not satisfaction, but additional demand, came into play.

What this is likely to mean for the future of school politics, at least in the major areas of Negro concentration, is a continued probing by hitherto non-powerful forces, for weak spots in the armor of the subsystem. In some places, the breakdown of the system has resulted, and will continue to result, in the legitimation of new groups and institutions, with concomitant renegotiation of the ground rules of the political contest. In other cases, nothing short of an entirely different system with new elites and new structures will do. Such is Gittell's contention, when she argues:

> Any effort to change the school system and expand civic participation must face the concentration of power in the professional bureaucracy and the resistance by the bureaucracy to

> any plan that would erode its power. Thus, any plan for change must have as its first objective the diminution of bureaucratic power. Meaningful plans for the reorganization of large city school systems must embody a formula for the decentralization of bureaucratic authority and the expansion of outside nonprofessional influences.[55]

Given the popularity of this view among a variety of sources throughout the country, it is unlikely that the educational subsystem will ever be quite the same again.

To summarize, the inputs from both elitist and pluralist community power structures have tended to be systems supporting and conservative. New federal and state inputs and the civil rights movement in the cities are altering the political environment of the public schools, but in most places the demands on the school continue to require it to support the status quo.

The Converter

This section will necessarily be incomplete, because although the school subsystem has been studied by sociologists, economists, anthropologists and administrators of various kinds, it has never been the subject of a major study by a political scientist. For purposes of analysis, the authority core of the school subsystem will be considered to have four components: the school board, administrators, teachers and students.

Since some school boards see themselves primarily as a representative of the community to the school and some vice versa, boards can be viewed as an input agent as well as a "withinput" in the authority core. Most of the literature, however, indicates that boards are usually dependent on administrative information and judgment and serve as a legitimizing agent for bureaucratic policy rather than as the community's legislative council on education.[56]

In elitist power structures, the boards tend to be recruited by the power elite and to reflect its interests, if not its status (since the elite members do not themselves serve).[57] In pluralist power structures, boards are often recruited or at least screened by the satellites.[58] In comparatively few cities does open competition for school board positions occur.[59] As a recent federally-financed survey shows, the consequence of this recruitment process is that board members measured by either income or education are much more middle-class than the communities they represent.[60] This has changed little from George S. Counts' finding in 1927 that

> The important boards are dominated either by those who control the economic resources of the country or by those who are associated rather intimately with the economically powerful classes. In other words, the ordinary board is composed, for the most part, of merchants, lawyers, bankers, manufacturers, physicians, and persons in responsible executive positions.[61]

Furthermore, once recruited, board members serve long tenures until they voluntarily retire.[62]

We have no hard data regarding the attitudes of school board members toward civil liberties. We can hypothesize, however, that middle-class board members might be more inclined to favor such middle-class concepts as freedom of speech, professional rights, and separation of church and state than lower-class members. On the other hand, there is evidence that middle-class boards insist on rigid, non-partisan, non-social-action schools.[63] This is conducive to a political socialization experience in the school that emphasizes symbols and rules rather than a political process and influence patterns.

The school administrative bureaucracy, especially in pluralist power structures, is able to exercise enormous influence over school policy.[64] Traditionally, administrators are recruited from a pool of male highschool teachers (athletic coaches, vocational teachers, and natural scientists).

Presumably, these are the professions least concerned with civil liberties in the schools. In addition, since school administrators are recruited from the ranks, they often fortify their status by emphasizing the gaps between themselves and their faculty. From the requirement to punch a time clock to the demand for detailed lesson plans, highschool teachers are subject to considerably more administrative regulation than other professionals.

Most important, school administrators are rewarded in the system if the school operates with a minimum of conflict and controversy while increasing student scores on standardized tests that gain admission to college. To run a tight ship is the preeminent administrative virtue, while having the boat rock is the greatest administrative calamity. Consequently, the model employed most often to achieve the goals of standardization and order has been called by Joseph Grannis the "factory school:"

> A punitive authority pervades the factory school, emanating from the principal's office and delegated to the teachers....Certain students are depended on to set the pace and exemplify the standards set down for the group. Often the teachers delegate some of their own authority to these students, and certain students emerge from the ranks to become more identified with their bosses, the teachers...The students in the factory school are exhorted to listen to the directives of their superiors. They are taught to say the words of a vaguely equalitarian creed, as a way of glossing over or putting up with all kinds of individual inconsistencies and injustices they experience. They learn to punch a clock, and to stay put in their stations, through hours of uninterrupted, or disrupted, monotony and teduim. Their teachers, too, may feel all these effects of a factory way of life in the schools.[65]

Grannis states that the factory school is "the most prevalent type in the elementary and secondary schools of the nation today"[66]

An educational system with this kind of goal and atmosphere probably has an effect on the behavior of teachers regarding social issues. The available research, however, is not very clear. Ziegler, in his study of Oregon teachers, found an unwillingness to advocate political or social

positions in the classroom,[67] although Jennings; study of social studies teachers reports that most of them were willing to bring controversial issues into the school.[68] These differing results may be attributed to the dissimilarity in the samples or to the distinction that teachers draw between using the classroom for indoctrination and discussion. Both surveys found that most teachers feel free to participate in conventional political activity outside the classroom although the possibility of sanctions is clearly perceived.[69] Jennings concludes that

> The thrust of the foregoing is that the social studies teacher operates within a system where the exercise of his <u>own</u> liberties cannot be taken for granted, and that when exercised they may conflict with those of other agents in the school community.[70]

Although writers like Friedenberg and Goodman have drawn vivid pictures of the apathetic and alienated students regimented public schools produce,[71] we can really only hypothesize that this creates negative attitudes toward civil liberties.

The influence of the peer group on adolescents isgenerally considered to be very great, but we know very little about the effect of student activities like student government or school newspapers on civil liberties perceptions. There is reason, however, to be sceptical. Administrators argue that student government helps train students for democratic participation but the typical student government is a model that Mussolini would have found acceptable.

Possibly the greatest effect in recent years upon student attitudes towards civil liberties has been the growth of student involvement in the great issues of peace or civil rights and the more personal problems of dress codes and social privileges. It is clear that students are becoming more militant and are demanding more substantive rights and procedural due process. It seems likely that these trends will have a carry-over effect on student atti-

tudes towards civil liberties for the society at large.

The process of political socialization and its effect on civil liberties is discussed in the next section.

Outputs

The literature confirms that education is the critical value in politization in this country and in others as well. The most significant finding in Almond and Verba's cross-national survey is that "among the demographic variables...none compares with the educational variable in the extent to which it seems to determine political attitudes."[72] Among other things "the more educated person is more aware of the impact of government on the individual than is the person of less education...has more political information... is more likely to consider himself capable of influencing the government."[73] The American school plays an even more important role in political socialization than schools in the other four countries studied. American students were almost twice as likely to have discussed politics in school.

Precisely how does the American school affect political socialization? Early literature in the field, catalogued by Herbert Hyman, indicated that the process of "political socialization" was carried on primarily, and chiefly, in the home.[74] Recent studies, and particularly the work of Torney and Hess, tend to cast doubt on the previous writings. "It is our conclusion from these data," they write in the final chapter of a rigorous study of thousands of school children, "that the school stands out as the central, salient, and dominant force in the political socialization of young children."[75] What the children bring to the school, aside from their party preference, are "attitudes toward authority, rules, and compliance."[76] They have a few odds and ends of conceptual equipment in the form of some mystical symbols such as President,

policeman, flag, and the like which compose their only real "knowledge" of the political world. All else is affect, or positive-negative feelings toward political symbols and institutions. What the school contributes is a range of information, beliefs, and concepts which build upon these earlier attitudes engendered by the family. The effect of the school's contribution differs according to the social class of the student. Lower class children come to school more predisposed to accept authority symbols. Their perceptions of politics, which they have gained chiefly from their parents are more likely to consist of fear and acceptance of political symbols. They have not had the opportunity to see their parents challenge authority and they have a more limited access to the news media in which such challenges are regularly reported. Once in school, the school acts to reinforce allegiance to the symbols of authority(flag salutes, hall monitors, rest room passes, and, formerly, school prayers). After an analysis of the civics textbooks used in various communities, Litt argues that

> in the working class community...civic education offers training in the basic democratic procedures without stressing political participation or the citizen's view of conflict and disagreement as indigenous to the political system. Politics is conducted by formal governmental institutions working in harmony for the benefit of citizens. In the lower-middle class school...training in the elements of democratic government is supplemented by an emphasis on the responsibilities of citizenship, not on the dynamics of public decision-making.[77]

For the lower-class child, these books may be assigned both because school authorities believe this is all lower-class children can comprehend and because the middle class bureaucracy wishes to emphasize order in its communication with lower-class youth. In addition, writers such as Hollingshead and Kozol have shown that in school systems as diverse as Elmtown and Boston lower-class children are treated more arbitrarily than middle class ones in the school disciplinary process.[78] This is done,

partly, because of the difficulty of maintaining order over the less disciplined lower-class pupils, and partly because the school knows that lower class parents will not intervene.

The disposition to regard civil liberties favorably is related to one's feeling that the system is responsive to one's needs and demands. Another way to explain the lower-class students attitudes is by utilizing the concept of political efficacy. Easton and Dennis suggest that

> a young child is not likely to respond differently whether he is asked: <u>should</u> ordinary people have a say in what the government does, or <u>do</u> ordinary people have such a say...we can assume, therefore, that, for children, acquisition of sentiments corresponding to the norm will usually represent psychic incorporation and approval of that ground rule of the regime... We shall accept the degree to which a child expresses a feeling of efficacy as an index of the extent to which he adheres to the norm. [79]

The political socialization literature reports that lower class children generally do not feel politically efficacious. They feel this way, partly, because their parents have communicated to them the reality of the situation: they are less efficacious. The school also must bear a responsibility for the lower-class students' lack of efficacy and a subsequent lack of civil liberties convictions. Since the school stresses loyalty toward authority symbols, but does not instruct lower-class children in the process of influencing political officials, they naturally feel less efficacious. Furthermore, in the school, the lower-class student confronts a system that often applies disciplinary sanctions and its academic and social rewards unequally according to class.

Middle-class children not only enter school less disposed toward uncritical acceptance of authority, they are reinforced in that attitude by their homes throughout their educational careers. Parents are more likely to discuss politics and school affairs and to criticize political and education figures. Newspapers and magazines that present political opinions

exist in the home, as well. Once in the school, the textbooks of the middle-class child are likely to be more sophisticated, emphasizing process and discussing conflict.[80] Middle-class children stay in longer. The higher up on the educational ladder one is, the more realistic the school's treatment of politics becomes and the more the school's culture values civil liberties and grants teachers and students rights within the system. This may be one reason for the finding that the more education one has, the more tolerant one becomes.[81]

Kenneth Langton has suggested that the environment of the middle-class classroom may have the effect of stimulating positive attitudes toward politics on the part of lower-class children. In a study of homogeneous working class schools and heterogeneous schools, he points out that the former have a tendency to reinforce working-class political norms which emphasize low political affect and involvement. Langton states that

> "working class students in heterogeneous class schools appear to be resocialized in the direction of higher class political norms. They are less inclined to forsake political liberty for political gain; more disposed toward fulfilling their voting obligation; more tolerant of minority groups; more politicized; and less supportive and more ambivalent toward the political system than their counterparts in homogeneous schools."[82]

Apparently, the disadvantaged child is benefiting from precisely those peer group reinforcements that permit his middle-class contemporary to go beyond the simplistic political picture painted by the school.

It would be an oversimplification, however, to believe that lower-class students are always less sympathetic to civil liberties than other students. One report sums up its findings by saying, "the higher the income, the lower the endorsement of statements contrary to the letter and spirit of the Bill of Rights."[83] In examining the results of studies of high school students, we find that much depends on the liberties one is

dealing with. In matters dealing with verbal freedom (publish, speak, petition), lower income groups support less freedom. In matters dealing with police (the first representatives of the state a child identifies),they support police and the FBI against criminal rights by a greater margin. In matters dealing with the chief enemy of the system--Communism-- they are more loyal to the system.[84] Because of the circumstances of their environment, they will be less tolerant of what they perceive as disloyalty to the system. Not ever having been taught what the political process is all about, they will be suspicious of those who take advantage of the provisions of that process. Democracy is seen in terms of institutions, authorities and symbols, rather than activities that often lead to conflict. Conflict appears to be the opposite of stability to those that do not understand its place in a democratic political system. Therefore, it is a mystery why those that engender conflict should be tolerated for, in effect, they are questioning the essential components of what passes for democracy for many people. But in matters of right to vote, freedom of religion, and right of criminals to fact their accusers, they are either higher than their middle- and upper-class contemporaries, or about the same. Words are middle-class tools; they are tools for learning and earning, for attack and defense. Therefore, they are more highly valued by middle-class children. Religion, subject-loyalty and the right against personal persecution (not being able to face one's accusers) are important to lower-class adolescents, either because they are high on the community-value scale, or because they are the remaining residue of an incomplete and subject-oriented political socialization process.

Summary and Conclusion

In an article written over a decade ago, David Easton posed these research questions:

> What types of orientations find their way into the school system, not only through the instructional material used in satisfying the demands of the formal curriculum, but through the informal instruction that depends upon the knowledge and experiences of the teaching staff? To what extent does the transmission of different types of orientations relate significantly with the socio-economic characteristics, political views, ethnicity, religion and the like, of the teaching staff? To what extent do the kinds of orientations absorbed by the students under any one instructional staff vary with the socio-economic, ethnic, and religious background and political preferences of the students? To what extent is there a disparity between the perceived image and the desired image in the minds of students?[85]

These are questions that still defy definitive answers. In all probability, the answers must concern themselves not only with questions of environment, but with the kinds of questions about mediating and input-providing institutions that we have tried to deal with in this paper.

The political socialization of the child is the product of the home environment from which he learns his first political cues, the school environment from which he gathers the knowledge that orients those views to the political state and its components, and the peer environment on whom he "tries" these new ideas and from whom he gains additional, fragmented increments of knowledge. Because of the traditional community inputs and the nature of the authority core, the school is generally a middle-class institution governed by middle-class individuals and in the service of a middle-class value system. While it is true that the school is the most important institution for the furnishing of political values and knowledge, that does not mean that it has the same impact on children of different classes.

For lower-class pupils the school not only fails to overcome their familial predisposition toward acceptance of authority, but probably reinforces it through arbitrary treatment and a civic education that emphasizes loyalty to institutions. Middle-class children, on the other hand, come from families more inclined to challenge authority. Once in school, they find an institution that is comparatively familiar and sympathetic and that provides them with a civic education that is more sophisticated and process oriented.

If the lower-class child is neither as tolerant nor as civil libertarian as his more affluent classmate, it may be because he has not had the opportunity to value verbal tools or learned the necessity of conflict in the democratic process.